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NATO, Warsaw Pact Disputes Over Who Has Superiority Viewed

*HK2302054589 Beijing JIEFANGJUN BAO
in Chinese 12 Feb 89 p 4*

[Weekly commentary" by Dongfang Tie: "'Showing Weakness' Strategy by NATO and Warsaw Pact"]

[Text] Recently, the two major military blocks, NATO and the Warsaw Pact, have seemed to be engaged in a competition in "being modest." Each has tried hard to pin the label of "military superiority" on the other. This may be said to be a kind of "showing weakness" strategy adopted by both sides.

This is testified to by the following examples: On 25 November 1988, NATO made public a report on "The Actual Situation Regarding Conventional Military Strength in Europe," and asserted that the Warsaw Pact had great superiority in both land forces and air forces. However, the Warsaw Pact politely returned the label of "superiority" to NATO on 29 January 1989, when the former made public for the first time the conventional forces stationed in Europe. It held that the military strength of both sides in Europe was "more or less the same," but that NATO had "considerable superiority" in naval strength and had more aeroplanes and antitank rocket systems at the front. Seeing this competition in being "modest," people can only feel surprised and ask: Where is the enthusiasm they had when they strove for military superiority in the past?

Of course, each of the two major military blocks has said the other side has superiority not out of politeness, but to meet the needs of disarmament talks. At the follow-up meeting of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe in Geneva, NATO and the Warsaw Pact reached an agreement on talks on cutting conventional weapons in Europe, which stipulates that the purpose of the talks is to establish a stable and reliable parity in conventional strength and to eliminate disparity in offensive strength. This means that the purpose of the disarmament is to attain parity in conventional strength at a low level. In addition, the Soviet Union has abandoned the principle of proportional equal reduction and has accepted NATO's "unequal" principle. According to the latter principle, the side which has superiority in a certain kind of weapon will have to reduce more. Consequently, the word "superiority" has become taboo for both NATO and the Warsaw Pact. Both sides have adopted the strategy of hiding their capacity and hiding what they have in order to win the support of public opinion so that the opposite side will be compelled to make greater concessions in future talks.

This "showing weakness" strategy has been manifested in many aspects, and using different standards for measuring and evaluating military strength is one of them. NATO has accused the Warsaw Pact of using "different concepts" in evaluating military strength in Europe; that is, naval strength, in which NATO has superiority, has

also been included, but only the reduction of land-based strength will be discussed in the upcoming all-Europe disarmament talks. Regarding this, the Warsaw Pact argues that although naval strength is not directly involved at present, disarmament should aim at achieving parity in the overall strengths of the army, navy, and air force of both sides, and that in discussing land-based strength, this factor should be taken into consideration. At the same time, the Warsaw Pact has also accused NATO of resorting to unfair means, saying that the figures were "worked out using selective methods" which only included things to its advantage. Since there are no "common rules for calculation," the disarmament talks on conventional weapons have become even more complicated.

Moreover, the figures for the quantities of some main weapons used for comparison published respectively by NATO and the Warsaw Pact differ greatly. For instance, the Warsaw Pact says that it has 59,470 tanks and NATO has 30,690, a ratio of 1.94:1; but NATO says the Warsaw Pact has 51,500 tanks and that it has only 16,424 tanks, a ratio of 3.1:1. The discrepancy in the number of helicopters is even greater. The Warsaw Pact says NATO has many more helicopters than itself, and that the ratio is 1.9:1; but the figures published by NATO show quite the opposite. NATO says that the Warsaw Pact has more helicopters than it has, and the ratio is 1.5:1. The great discrepancies in the figures published by the two military blocs and the mutual accusations regarding false figures can only make people feel that the "military transparency" in Europe at present is indeed very low. If it is not possible even to clarify the basic data regarding the armed forces, what will disarmament be based upon, and how can inspection and verification be carried out?

The fact that NATO and the Warsaw Pact regard "superiority" as a taboo does not mean that they will no longer endeavor to develop their military strength. The reason they have attempted to show weakness is precisely to build up greater strength in the reality of confrontation. They are only trying to increase their military strength in a new way. As far as the United States is concerned, not long ago the Pentagon used computers to carry out a "military exercise" to prove that if NATO adheres to the new principle of "competitive strategy" and lays stress on superiority in developing technology and using high-technology weapons, it can defeat the armed forces of the Warsaw Pact despite the latter's superiority in numbers. The "victory" in the exercise has made the U.S. decisionmaking circles feel pleasantly surprised. Many people are in favor of readjusting the structure of NATO's armed forces to improve their quality in accordance with the new strategy. The trend of reducing conventional weapons in Europe has made NATO and the Warsaw Pact pay greater attention to improving the quality of their armed forces. Therefore, in analyzing the situation of military strength in Europe, we should not be misled by the "showing weakness" phenomenon of the two major military blocs.

**PRC Changes from Negative to Positive Attitude
on World Disarmament Efforts**

*OW2202163489 Beijing BEIJING REVIEW
in English 13-26 Feb 89 pp 12-17*

[Article by Xie Yixian: "China's Foreign Policy: A
1980's Tune-up"]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted]

Disarmament

Another adjustment in China's foreign policy is shown by its attitude towards the disarmament talks and peace movements, such as the demand for a ban on nuclear weapons.

In the 1970s, China criticized all the disarmament talks between the two superpowers and other talks such as the conference on European security and co-operation. It refused to participate in various peace movements because it thought they would have little effect on both the United States and the Soviet Union. This attitude may have given people the false impression that China did not assent to the disarmament and banning of nuclear weapons.

Through adjustments, China has turned to approve of and ready to participate in all kinds of disarmament talks and talks on banning weapons with massive killing abilities. In all these activities, China stresses that the two superpowers should take a lead in reducing armaments and in banning and destroying all nuclear weapons. As to pertinent talks between the two superpowers, China holds that dialogues are better than confrontations. And it hopes to see them reach compromises nondetrimental to any third country.

In recent years, China has reduced troops by 1 million and taken the initiative in ceasing atmospheric nuclear tests. It also solved peacefully issues concerning Hong Kong and Macao, remnants of historical Sino-British and Sino-Portuguese relations, by means of a "one country, two systems" policy. All these have demonstrated that China has made practical efforts in promoting world peace.

This adjustment is based on the following factors:

1. The danger of a world war has reduced. Now only the United States and the Soviet Union have the qualifications to launch a world war. The United States is still a dominating force in the world although its strength is weaker than before. But it is hard to say that it would want to launch a war that would probably sabotage its vested interests in the world. As for the Soviet Union, since it is no longer seen as a younger imperialist country, there is no ground for believing that it will launch a world war.

2. While the danger of a war still exists, there is a healthy and strong-opposition as well. The rapidly developing peace-loving forces include not only the people of the United States and the Soviet Union but those of West and East European Countries, too. Although European countries are allied respectively with the United States and the Soviet Union, they certainly have no desire to bind themselves to the superpower's war chariots.

3. The stronger the destructive power of the nuclear weapons is, especially when they are capable of destroying the whole world, the more the owners dare not use them.

4. The law of uneven development in regard to Western countries' politics and economies has played a clear role in world politics. Japan's economy has developed more rapidly than that of the United States. The former's per capita gross national product, financial strength and the situations involving balance of international payments are all higher and better than those of the latter. Japan's economic superiority is now being transformed into a political high card. In view of the development of nuclear weapons and the current distribution of the nuclear strength, it is unlikely that such economic clout can be permitted to change into military superiority.

So, since China put forth the view that the world can be kept in a peaceful environment for a long time, it has won more and more support from the people of the world. [Passage omitted]

**USSR Seen Shifting from Quantitative to
Qualitative Military Buildup**

*HK0103091489 Beijing JIEFANGJUN BAO
in Chinese 20 Feb 89 p 3*

[Article by Fan Jun: "Soviet Union's Disarmament and
Qualitative Buildup of its Armed Forces"]

[Text] At the 43d UN General Assembly on 7 December last year, Soviet leader Gorbachev announced that the Soviet Union will cut 500,000 of its armed forces, 10,000 tanks, 8,500 big guns, and 800 fighters within 2 years from 1989 to 1990. He continued that this is just the "first step" as the process of disarmament will continue in the years ahead. There are diplomatic as well as domestic needs in the major disarmament act taken unilaterally by the Soviet Union. In diplomatic affairs, the Soviet Union intends to impel the United States to also take a big step in conventional disarmament in Europe so as to further reduce the level of Soviet-U.S. military confrontation. Meanwhile, the Soviet Union also wants to use practical action to prove the "defensive nature" of its military theory. In domestic affairs, the Soviet Union attempts to develop its economic construction with the human, material, and financial resources saved from the cut in military spending.

Has the Soviet Union relaxed its army building and combat readiness by pushing on detente, reducing its troops, and cutting down military spending? No.

The 19th CPSU Conference convoked at the end of June 1988 clearly put forward the principle of shifting the focus of army building onto qualitative buildup of the armed forces. Soviet army leaders also stressed on many occasions that the Soviet army will attach importance to the qualitative buildup of the forces in the future. The target of the Soviet Union's qualitative army building is to build the army into a well-equipped military force of a moderate size with picked officers and men which has high combat effectiveness and can command flexibly, "prevent wars and defeat all forms of aggression," and "maintain state sovereignty." The main methods of qualitative army building adopted by the Soviet Union include: First, strengthening military scientific and technological research and developing new types of weapons. Applying the latest scientific and technological achievements, developing highly functional and multi-purpose weapons which will not become outmoded within a period of considerable length, and "giving priority to the development of the military means that play a decisive role in increasing the army's might and that fully meet the increasing needs of national defense." With attention focused on the battlefield environment of the 21st century, vigorously developing laser, particle, electromagnetic, and other high-tech weapons. Second, changing the establishment of the ground forces. The establishment of the Soviet ground forces will be smaller in size, diversified, and comprehensive which will further increase its flexibility and defensive combat effectiveness. Third, further perfecting the command, control, communication, and information systems and increasing the automation level of command and the capacity to react quickly. Fourth, making the ranks of officers younger in average age, better educated, and professionally competent. Promoting large numbers of young cadres to the leading posts at all levels. The headquarters, arms of the services, and military regions are boldly placing young cadres in important positions. Fifth, improving the quality of army training and stressing that operational training is "the fundamental of the army's daily activities." Seeking a scientific training method, intensifying the training process, increasing the difficulty in training, perfecting the training equipment, applying advanced simulators, strictly following the training rules and timetables, and attaining better results from actual combat training.

The principle of reducing the number of troops and improving quality adopted by the Soviet Union in army building indicates the major changes in the Soviet Union's estimate of the country's security situation and concept of war. It is the specific manifestation of Gorbachev's new thinking in military affairs. Although the Soviet Union has emphasized that the international disputes and domestic security should be settled through "political means" and in a "peaceful manner," the efforts to strengthen its military force will not be relaxed. Gorbachev said that "the party

has not for a single moment relaxed its efforts to enhance the country's defense." Soviet Defense Minister Yazov also stressed that "the establishment of Soviet Union's armed forces and the quantity and quality of its weaponry" should "strictly be kept in line with the level of the menace of wars and to the nature and degree of imperialist military preparations."

Increased U.S. Spending on Chemical Weapons Production Criticized

*HK2302145089 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO
in Chinese 23 Feb 89 p 3*

["International Outlook" column by Zhang Dezhen:
"Untimely Move"]

[Text] It has been reported that spending on chemical weapons will increase by a wide margin in the 1990 U.S. defense budget. This includes the huge funds allocated to develop and manufacture a new generation of chemical weapons such as the "Big Eye" binary gas bomb and the new types of chemical weapons that can "penetrate gas masks." When the current international situation is tending toward detente, this is apparently an untimely move.

As everyone knows, chemical weapons are a kind of savage, large-scale destructive weapon. They have been condemned ever since their development. As early as 1925 relevant countries signed a Geneva protocol on prohibiting the use of chemical weapons in wars. Although the development of nuclear weapons diverted people's attention to the damage caused by such weapons to mankind, they have never at any time relaxed their vigilance against chemical weapons. Calls for the banning of production and use of chemical weapons have run high in recent years. A total of 149 countries took part in the international meeting on banning chemical weapons held in Paris early last month. This shows the concern of the international community over the issue. Apart from reiterating the effectiveness of the 1925 Geneva protocol, the "Final Declaration" adopted by the meeting particularly urged that an international convention be concluded on totally banning the development, production, storage, and use of chemical weapons. As a participant nation, the United States made a commitment to abide by the declaration. People hoped that the two superpowers, who possess the largest number of chemical weapons, and who can do something to ban them, would take the lead and contribute to the conclusion of the convention. However, it has been perplexing that on the one hand the United States favored the banning of chemical weapons at the meeting; and on the other hand, it has further increased spending for producing such weapons. Has the United States not gone back on its word? This act is undoubtedly an obstacle to the conclusion of a convention on totally banning chemical weapons. No wonder a member of the U.S. Congress asked: "Are we guiding the world toward the direction of controlling or expanding chemical weapons?"

The following still remains fresh in our minds: Two months ago, the United States openly condemned Libya under the excuse of a Libyan factory "producing poison gas" and threatened to "take military action" to destroy the factory. All of a sudden, a hubbub arose worldwide. This tells people that the United States has a "dual standard" for producing chemical weapons: It is quite natural for the United States to produce chemical weapons. If others do so, it is a great offense which must be sternly punished.

Why does the United States want to vigorously develop chemical weapons? According to a military official, it is for the purpose of "preventing a nerve gas offensive being launched by the Soviet Union in Europe." In other words, the United States has been forced to do so. This is the same old tune used in the arms race. It will only lead to another escalation. Because of the long-term military confrontation between the two superpowers and their deep-rooted ideas, it would be rather difficult to eliminate the suspicions and lack of confidence between them within a short period of time.

INTRABLOC

Pact Representatives Discuss CSCE Results, CFE Prospects

*LD1402202189 Warsaw PAP in English
1901 GMT 14 Feb 89*

[Text] Warsaw, Feb. 14—Representatives of states-parties to the Warsaw Treaty held here on Feb. 13-14 consultations on results of the Vienna CSCE meeting and implementation of its decisions.

The participants emphasized the importance of the CSCE process and the particular weight of the decisions to start negotiations on conventional arms in Europe and continue negotiations on security and confidence building measures, which open up a possibility to call a considerable number of all-European meetings on issues crucial for this continent.

Participants in the consultations met with Foreign Vice-Minister Boleslaw Kulski.

Warsaw Pact Defense Chiefs Discuss Troop Cuts, Withdrawals

Hungarian Participants

*LD1402132489 Budapest Domestic Service
in Hungarian 1300 GMT 14 Feb 89*

[Text] The Hungarian defense minister and the chief of staff of the People's Army have left for Moscow. Colonel General Ferenc Karpati and Lieutenant General Jozsef Pacsek are to take part in the working discussion of the Warsaw Pact defense ministers and chiefs of staff.

Topics Discussed

*LD1602045689 Budapest MTI in English
2216 GMT 16 Feb 89*

[Text] Moscow, February 15 (MTI)—The ministers of defense and chiefs of staff of the Warsaw Treaty member states held a working consultation in Moscow on February 15. The consultation was attended by the commander in chief and the chief of staff of the joint armed forces of the Warsaw Treaty member states. The participants discussed practical issues related to the implementation of unilateral reductions in the Joint Armed Forces of the Warsaw Treaty, and the Soviet troops stationed on the territory of Hungary, the German Democratic Republic, Poland and Czechoslovakia. They surveyed topical tasks related to the defense-oriented reorganization of the allied armies, and the activity of the joint armed forces. The meeting took place in a businesslike atmosphere, in the spirit of mutual understanding.

Colonel General Ferenc Karpati, Hungarian minister of defense, and Lieutenant General Jozsef Pacsek, chief of staff of the Hungarian Peoples Army, returned to Hungary in the evening.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Jakes Interviewed on Foreign, Defense Policies

*LD2402202689 Prague Domestic Service in Czech
1830 GMT 24 Feb 89*

[Text] Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, gave an interview today to Zdenek Horeni, editor in chief of RUDE PRAVO. The interview dealt with Czechoslovak foreign policy initiatives in the military, political, economic, humanitarian, and ecological fields.

Milos Jakes pointed out that the military aspects of the proposal to establish a zone of trust, cooperation, and good-neighborly relations on the dividing line between the Warsaw Pact and NATO states covered two areas of questions: measures for further strengthening trust beyond the framework of the provisions of the 1986 Stockholm document, and thinning the troop contingents deployed in the proposed zone.

In concrete terms, this means that Czechoslovakia is willing to come to an agreement with states on this dividing line on, for example, informing one another about military exercises, including those with a lower number of participants than set out in the Stockholm conference document. In addition, Czechoslovakia favors a greater exchange of information, including data on the armed forces in the zone of trust.

If in the past the initiatives by the socialist countries were almost automatically described in the West as propaganda, now the situation is changing somewhat with regard to the facts, even though we are still seeing efforts to make light of these measures. At the same time, however, a number of politicians and experts in the NATO member states have spoken highly of the initiatives by Czechoslovakia and the other socialist countries, noting that they have not only a military significance but also a political one.

The North Atlantic alliance itself apparently still has no joint response drawn up to the Warsaw Pact proposals. We are waiting impatiently for this response.

Milos Jakes expressed the hope that the Western partners' response in the disarmament talks would be a constructive one, and that this would make it possible, in keeping with the conclusions of the Vienna follow-up meeting, to put into motion the much-awaited and desirable process of disarmament in Europe. He went on to point out that the recent unilateral measures by the Soviet Union, the GDR, and Czechoslovakia were in keeping with the objectives of the military aspect of Czechoslovakia's initiative on setting up a zone of trust, cooperation, and good-neighborly relations on the dividing line between the two military blocs in Europe. By

1991, for example, the Soviet Union would be withdrawing six tank divisions from Czechoslovakia, the GDR, and Hungary and disbanding them. Czechoslovakia is to reduce the number of its tanks by 850, and the GDR by 600.

As for the Warsaw Pact member states, the dilution of the contingent of armies, in the zone discussed in the Czechoslovak initiative, has already been under way.

Comrade Jakes said that as for the question of defense spending, there is still a different approach toward compiling the data, not only by individual socialist countries but also by capitalist states. From this, understandable difficulties arise when the levels are compared.

As for the socialist countries, a reevaluation has now occurred concerning the data to be kept secret. This is linked to positive changes in international relations and the new thinking being implemented by the Soviet Union, which we in Czechoslovakia fully support. It is also an expression of the effort to contribute toward replacing the policy of confrontation in relations between states with different social systems by mutual trust and constructive cooperation.

The CPCZ considers it correct to have our citizens in the future better informed about military questions. Therefore, data will also be published in this field. Comrade Jakes went on to say that during the withdrawal of Soviet troops, not only a tank division would be withdrawn in the course of the coming 2 years, but also other units and combat aircraft. The Czechoslovak as well as the world public will have the opportunity to observe the withdrawal of Soviet troops through information provided by our and foreign journalists.

Milos Jakes, in his interview given to RUDE PRAVO editor Zdenek Horeni, went on to say the adopted unilateral measures by the Warsaw Pact member states were a specific expression of their efforts to work for a reasonable defensive sufficiency. He stressed that disarmament could not be reached by way of unilateral steps. Therefore, all adopted measures were considered carefully to secure the reliable defense of the country in the future as well as the fulfillment of obligations arising from Czechoslovakia's membership in the Warsaw Pact.

Comrade Jakes also discussed principles and suggestions whose realization could contribute toward gradually creating the zone of trust.

He said that in the political area this would be, for example, regular dialogue on the parliamentary and government line, and the intensification of contacts between political parties, social organizations, and non-governmental and other institutions.

In the economic area Czechoslovakia is striving for wide and mutually beneficial cooperation. It is useful to agree on steps that would ease the development of trade, widen

the traditional areas of industrial cooperation by new branches, deepen joint activity on third markets, and help the setting up of joint enterprises. Czechoslovakia has also worked out in detail proposals for cooperation in the protection of the environment, for humanitarian, cultural, scientific, educational, and health areas. The proposals are being continually realized and enriched. At the present time the contents of the Czechoslovak initiative are being supplemented in harmony with the closing document of the Vienna follow-up meeting.

Milos Jakes emphasized that Czechoslovakia does not consider the initiative for the creation of a zone of trust, cooperation, and good-neighborly relations to be closed. It is also open to initiatives and proposals by other states.

In another part of the interview, Comrade Jakes discussed cooperation in protecting the environment, and he emphasized that in central Europe and the whole world this problem cannot be solved simply with isolated approaches by individual countries, but rather by uniting forces and means on an international scale. The proposal by Czechoslovak Premier Ladislav Adamec for a meeting of government premiers of countries neighboring on Czechoslovakia follows from all the appeals adopted on the soil of the United Nations, the CEMA, and the EEC. It is aimed at a specifically designated area. The intention of the Czechoslovak side is to mutually evaluate all that can realistically be done to solve problems, particularly in the areas of air pollution and the protection of waterways. At the same time, the knowledge of factual data on the state of the environment is vital for all countries, and this will contribute to the better mutual evaluation of the situation and the adoption of necessary solutions. For this reason Czechoslovakia is considering the possibility of creating a unified system of monitoring the development of the ecological situation and an information data bank.

Improving the environment in central Europe will require demanding technological solutions and organizational and legislative measures. The extent of the tasks exceeds the possibilities of one state. It is therefore worthwhile to create a joint consultative organ whose activity would contribute to the removal of administrative obstacles, to increasing information, and to speeding up joint action. Prague could become the seat of this organ.

Comrade Jakes stated that Czechoslovakia is also interested in the Eureka technology program. Some progressive civilian projects of this program were identified in our scientific research institutions, but the inclusion of socialist states, however, requires the removal of some obstacles of a contractual legal and financial character.

Comrade Jakes went on to say that the Czechoslovak delegation to the upcoming disarmament talks on conventional weapons in Vienna will strive for an agreement on a fundamental reduction in the number of armed forces and conventional armaments of the NATO and

Warsaw Pact member states, according to the principle of sensible sufficiency. During the talks the point of departure for the Czechoslovak delegation will be the conceptions adopted with its Warsaw Pact allies. In harmony with this it will implement stands ensuing from Czechoslovakia's geographic location as they are summarized in the Czechoslovak initiative of February 1988.

Jakes Discusses Proposal for Zone of Trust
LD2102211889 Prague in Czech to Europe
2230 GMT 20 Feb 89

[Text] In February 1988 Czechoslovakia issued an appeal to create a zone of trust, cooperation, and good-neighborly relations at the demarcation line between the Warsaw Pact and the NATO member states. The proposal was submitted by Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee. And it was to him that the DEMOCRATIC JOURNALIST magazine, which is published by the International Organization of Journalists, turned with a question concerning the further developments of this initiative.

First of all, the potential participants in the proposed zone and representatives of other countries acquainted themselves with the basic framework and aims of the initiative, Milos Jakes replied. He continued: These talks were conducted through an official channel at governmental and diplomatic levels, and also many talks between political parties and social organizations dealt with this issue. It has emerged that our proposal has in principle been received favorably. This is why we have started to elaborate our specific vision of how the main ideas of the Czechoslovak initiative could be implemented in individual spheres—that is, in the political, military, economic, ecological, and humanitarian spheres. At present we are discussing these ideas with the NATO countries and some neutral states in the area of contact of the two groupings which have shown interest in participating in the creation of the zone of trust.

We are thus in a period of a dialogue whose aim is to clarify views of individual countries to obtain not only comments but also further proposals. In this sense our initiative is quite open, and we envisage that it should be enriched with the views and experiences of partners.

As the CPCZ Central Committee general secretary said, our partners have been showing the greatest interest in the military aspects of the Czechoslovak initiative. We are realists, Milos Jakes said, and so we are not striving to jump the gun in the basic military measures prior to the talks to be conducted on the basis of the mandate of the Vienna CSCE follow-up meeting. However, we distinguish between that which can now be carried out to strengthen trust in the military sphere on a bilateral basis, and that which is in the competence of the two military-political groupings. The reduction that we proposed of the most dangerous offensive weapons—such as tanks, artillery and rocket-launcher systems—in the zone

should naturally be achieved in accordance with the principle of the mutual removal of imbalance and asymmetry in individual types of conventional weapons.

It is in our interest, the top Czechoslovak party representative stressed, for the conclusions that will be agreed upon in the context of the all-European solution from the Atlantic to the Urals to be especially intensively implemented—that is, in the zone along the demarcation line between the Warsaw Pact and NATO member states. This means the place where the danger of the start of a conflict, even if it is accidental, is greatest.

We have acquainted you with the main gist of the replies given by Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, to questions by the DEMOCRATIC JOURNALIST magazine.

NATO Assembly Delegation Arrives, Holds News Briefing

NATO Position Clarified
LD2402230989 Prague CTK in English
1834 GMT 23 Feb 89

[Text] Prague Feb 23 (CTK)—The unilateral military measures announced by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, including Czechoslovakia, are a right step and a good starting point for the forthcoming Vienna talks, Bruce George, chairman of the North Atlantic Assembly (NAA) Political Committee and head of an NAA delegation, told journalists Thursday [23 February].

The delegation arrived here Wednesday for a three-day official visit to Czechoslovakia which is after Hungary the second socialist country visited by the NAA Political Committee members from eight NATO countries.

Similar steps cannot be expected from the part of NATO at present because in its view there is still asymmetry in the number of conventional arms between the Warsaw Treaty and NATO even after the cuts, Bruce George said, adding that the NAA Political Committee studies carefully the initiatives of individual socialist countries, and it would not be wise to draw hasty conclusions. Answering a question when NATO would publish exact figures of its military potential as the Warsaw Treaty did, Bruce George said that these figures were now being assembled.

The NAA Political Committee chairman said that at meetings with chairman of the Czechoslovak Committee for European Security and Cooperation Bohuslav Kucera, Foreign Minister Jaromir Johanes and President member of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee Jozef Lenart, the two sides found both a number of aspects which link them, as well as those which separate them. He pointed to the agreement

reached upon the necessity of higher control and armament and the development of bilateral trade relations, but the question of modernizing short-range missiles in NATO states remained at issue.

Chief of Staff on Defense Spending
LD2402210789 Prague Domestic Service in Czech
2000 GMT 24 Feb 89

[Text] A delegation of the North Atlantic Assembly consisting of deputies of the parliaments of the NATO member states was received today in Prague by Colonel Miroslav Vacek, chief of the General Staff of the Czechoslovak People's Army and first deputy minister of national defense.

Bruce George, chairman of the assembly's Political Committee, asked Miroslav Vacek and his colleagues for an explanation of the Czechoslovak initiative made at the beginning of this year, stating that some people in NATO hold the view that this is a very positive set of initiatives.

The chief of the general staff stressed that the aim of the unilateral measures is to enhance the defensive character of our units and formations in defending the sovereignty of our state and the socialist community as a whole. Miroslav Vacek also pointed out that our reduced defense spending in 1989-1990 stood out in comparison with the fact that certain Western countries are increasing their own military budgets.

Bruce George asked how much of the Czechoslovak budget was spent on defense. Col Gen Vacek replied that it is something like 7 percent. At the same time he refuted speculation by foreign news agencies that the amount was somewhere in the range of 17-20 percent.

Pelle Voigt, a Danish deputy, spoke highly of the openness he had encountered in his talks with representatives of the Czechoslovak general staff. He expressed interest in the defensive principles of the Warsaw Pact's military doctrine, which adopted such principles before NATO did. He asked the Czechoslovak generals how this defensive character is reflected in the organization of forces, the training of commanders, and in the military ranks. Col Gen Vacek, in reply, highlighted in particular the marked reduction of tanks in the organizational structures of our divisions. In the next 12 months, he said, the Czechoslovak People's Army's order-of-battle will be brought into harmony with this defensive doctrine. Miroslav Vacek went on to recall the historical experience of the Czechoslovak people. Our republic has never threatened anyone in its history and does not threaten anyone now. We have no territorial claims against anyone.

At the end of the meeting, General Vacek described the talks with the deputies of the North Atlantic alliance deputies as very useful. He praised the fact that they had sought to obtain very accurate information for their work and had paid great attention to the Czechoslovak

measures adopted at the end of January by the State Defense Council. It is true that on occasion we have registered a mistrust of certain facts and certain stereotypes in thinking. General Vacek stated, but due credit must be given to the openness with which the deputies approached our explanations and comments, as well as their interest in understanding our opinions and views.

In an interview with Czechoslovak newsmen, Bruce George described our army as efficient and high quality. I am glad that we are currently in a situation in which the main words in our vocabulary are harmony and accord, instead of conflict. Following our visit to Czechoslovakia, Bruce George concluded, we have high hopes of succeeding in pursuing the process of detente.

Impact of Arms Cuts on Industry Jobs Noted
AU1602115689 Prague PRACE in Czech
14 Feb 89 p 2

[Second installment of answers by Colonel Stanislav Pohoral from the Main Political Administration of the Czechoslovak People's Army to PRACE readers' questions: "Not Only for Soldiers"]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted]

[Question] The reduction in the Federal Ministry of National Defense budget surely means limited orders from the military with manufacturing organizations of the civilian sector. Will this not result in the loss of jobs?

[Pohoral] Some of the reduction to be carried out will be projected in orders from imports and will not have a direct impact on the utilization of our production capacities.

The reduction in orders for weaponry and equipment placed with the Czechoslovak industry will affect the utilization of the existing armaments capacities. This is why alternative programs are being sought, programs that could be provided for by the same basic raw and other materials. The issue is to find such alternative programs which would conform with the character of work operations [in the arms industry] and make it possible to use the available specialists. In spite of a number of problems with this, there is an endeavor to make full use of all employees and to furnish them with social guarantees. This will mean an individual approach to the work assignment of each employee on the basis of specific conditions and possibilities.

[Question] Will the military budget be regularly published?

[Pohoral] The publication of the overall expenditures on defense and security will continue. They are broken down into expenditures in the two republics and in the federation and are provided annually in the Statistical Yearbooks issued by the Federal Bureau of Statistics and

in the generally accessible issues of the CSSR Legal Gazette. The publication of the distribution of this item among individual departments (respectively the publication of the budget's internal structure) requires a decision by the appropriate state bodies, on the basis of a mutual agreement on laying open data in all states of the two coalitions. The data being published to date are not comparable because the principles (the methodology) of drawing up budgets vary from state to state.

[Question] The measures by the Czechoslovak People's Army (State Defense Council) have already spawned pacifism among some young people. What do you think about this?

[Pohoral] It is true that illusions and some kind of a carefree attitude regarding the need to permanently safeguard our defenses, and those of the entire socialist community, are spreading among parts of the population, especially among young people. Some positive features in the development of the international situation are being overestimated. It is understandable that young people with little experience can easily succumb to the false idea that the process of military detente between the East and the West is irreversible and that peace can no longer be threatened.

Unfortunately, this is not the case. Faced with the question of whether the danger of war continues to exist for the CSSR, one can only say yes. [passage omitted]

Armaments Plant Announces Restructuring Plans *LD1502224289 Prague CTK in English* 1900 GMT 15 Feb 89

[Text] Bratislava Feb 15 (CTK)—Restructuring of the production program of Czechoslovakia's largest armaments plant, the heavy engineering plant (ZTS) at Martin, central Slovakia, linked with the peace initiatives of the socialist countries, was discussed at a press conference with representatives of the plant here today.

Production of military equipment will decrease by 50 per cent this year compared with last year and will account for only about 25 per cent of the plant's overall production volume in 1995, director of ZTS Jozef Uhrík said, and added that the volume of production of civilian engineering equipment, which was last year valued at 14,000 million crowns, will increase by 10,000 million crowns. The plant's civilian engineering production consists mainly of building and road building machinery. Production will be expanded mainly in branches the products of which are in short supply in Czechoslovakia or in which there is greater interest on world markets.

Jozef Uhrík said that the restructuring affects directly 3,500 of the plant's 85,000 workers, with 3,000 of them having been already trained for civilian production.

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

GDR Defense Minister, Soviet GSFG Commander Speak on Holiday

Kessler Stresses 'Military Protection of Peace, Socialism'

LD1702200789 East Berlin ADN International Service
in German 1804 GMT 17 Feb 89

[Text] Karl-Marx-Stadt (ADN)—In view of NATO's adherence to its strategy of deterrence, even during the further successful progress of the process of disarmament and confidence building, the watchfulness and defense capability of the socialist states and their armies must at all times be safeguarded at the requisite level. This was stated by Army General Heinz Kessler, GDR defense minister, on the occasion of the opening of the traditional week of brotherhood-in-arms at a rally today in Karl-Marx-Stadt. He gave detailed attention to the latest disarmament initiatives of the Soviet Union, the GDR, and the other socialist states. As history shows, German-Soviet friendship is one of the most valuable achievements and one of the indispensable fundamentals of the socialist German state, which is marking its 40th anniversary this year.

Just as in 1961, when the security measures decided upon by the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Pact participant states were discussed at the state border with Berlin (West), supported by Soviet comrades of class and arms, today as well, jointly with them, responsibility is being borne for the military protection of peace and socialism in the heart of Europe.

Numerous meetings and functions are planned for the friendship week between the annual days of the Soviet Army and the GDR National People's Army.

Further on Speeches

AU2302222689 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND
in German 18-19 Feb 89 pp 1-2

[Rainer Funke report: "Brotherhood-in-Arms Week Opens in Karl-Marx-Stadt"]

[Text] Karl-Marx-Stadt—The traditional brotherhood-in-arms week, which has been observed for more than 2 decades between the anniversaries of the Soviet Army on 23 February and the National People's Army on 1 March, was opened with a festive meeting in Karl-Marx-Stadt on Friday [17 February].

Working people, members of the National People's Army, of the GDR Border Troops, and of the other defense and security organs, Soviet soldiers, as well as FDJ members and members of the Sports and Technology Society conveyed cordial greetings to SED Central Committee Politburo members Army General Heinz Kessler, minister of National Defense, and Siegfried

Lorenz, first secretary of the Karl-Marx-Stadt Bezirk SED leadership, as well as to Army General Boris Snetkov, supreme commander of the Group of Soviet Forces in Germany.

After the GDR and USSR national anthems were played, Siegfried Lorenz opened the meeting, which initiates the week of numerous friendly meetings with Soviet soldiers throughout the country. He said that 140 years ago, Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels recognized in the young workers class and its revolutionary movement a social power which, by fulfilling its historic mission, will increasingly be in a position to demand peace, even if others cry for war. Now that for the first time in the history of mankind weapons explode for the purpose of being destroyed, this scientifically founded optimism of Marx and Engels is becoming more of a material force than it has ever been before.

In his speech, Heinz Kessler conveyed the greetings of the SED Central Committee and its general secretary, Erich Honecker. The minister spoke about the deep roots of friendship between the citizens of the Soviet Union and those of the German worker-peasant state, as well as about the brotherhood-in-arms between the two countries' soldiers. He said that they reach far back. That is shown by the declaration of the German left under Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg for the young Soviet power, the mass movement, "Hands off Soviet Russia!", the work of young German Communists—such as Erich Honecker in Magnitogorsk—in the Soviet Union in the early thirties, the internationalist fight alongside the Spanish people, and the joint action of German and Soviet Communists against fascism.

Kessler said that as history has shown, German-Soviet friendship is one of the most precious achievements and one of the indispensable bases of existence of the socialist German state which will be celebrating its 40th anniversary this year.

Heinz Kessler stressed that "in our loyalty as friends of the Soviet Union, we will not allow anybody to discourage us, nor will we be diverted from our brotherhood-in-arms and our class brotherhood, least of all by people who have no interest at all in the growth of socialism and the well-being of the working people in towns and villages."

In this respect, the speaker cited as an outstanding example the ensuring of the GDR state border with West Berlin in August 1961 in accordance with the resolution adopted by the Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee. He said that as a preventive warning against any possible provocations or even military adventures by revanchist forces of the FRG or NATO, a security line of several echelons has been deployed: in the first echelon, the units of the works militia, the People's Police, and the border police; in the second echelon, the units of the National People's Army; and in the third, the Soviet Army.

"The reliable ensuring of the GDR state border with West Berlin and the FRG at the time was and now still is in the interest of stable peace in Europe, and in the interest not only of our country but also of our neighbors," Kessler said, adding that it also is a wall against neofascist activities that are alarmingly rampant in the FRG and West Berlin.

Army General Kessler stressed: "Just as we took the necessary security measures in 1961 with the support of our friends, we are now jointly responsible for the military protection of peace and socialism in the center of Europe, and we will continue to share this responsibility as long as this is necessary."

The speaker discussed extensively the recent peace initiatives of the Soviet Union, the GDR, and the other socialist states. He stressed in this connection that in view of the fact that NATO sticks to its strategy of deterrence, even though the disarmament and confidence-building process continues to advance successfully, the vigilance and defensive capacity of the socialist states and their armies must always be kept at the required level.

Army General Boris Snetkov in his speech described the relations between the USSR and the GDR as an example of internationalism, indestructible friendship, and fruitful cooperation. He said that they have helped both peoples for decades to resolve important tasks of their development, and are a factor of stability and peace in Europe, as Mikhail Gorbachev and Erich Honecker stated during their meeting in Moscow. He said that the members of the Group of Soviet Forces in Germany are profoundly aware of their responsibility for the secure protection of the achievements of socialism. He said that in close combat alliance with the GDR soldiers, the Soviet Army will therefore continue to honorably fulfill its humanist mission.

Finally, Sergeant Petr Drachenko and officer candidate Volker Umlauf stated their firm will to always prove their efficiency in the peace struggle as class brothers and brothers-in-arms in deed.

The meeting, which was attended by Wolfgang Herger, director of the SED Central Committee Security Department; Colonel General Nikolay Moiseyev, member of the Military Council and chief of the Political Administration of the Group of Soviet Forces in Germany; and Colonel General Vladimir Meretskov, deputy commander of the Warsaw Pact Joint Armed Forces in the National People's Army of the GDR.

Soviet Report on Speeches

*PM2202085189 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA
in Russian 19 Feb 89 First Edition p 3*

[Own correspondent Colonel A. Vasilets dispatch: "In the Spirit of Fraternal Friendship"]

[Text] Group of Soviet Forces in Germany—A ceremonial opening of Combat Collaboration Week, which is traditionally pegged to the anniversary of the formation

of the Soviet Armed Forces and the GDR National People's Army, took place in Karl-Marx-Stadt, GDR, on 17 February.

A rally marking the event was addressed by Army General H. Kessler, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo and GDR minister of national defense. This year, he said, the week of comradeship-in-arms is being held under the banner of new steps toward disarmament and confidence-building taken by the Soviet Union, our Republic, and other Warsaw Pact states to continue the process of armed forces and armaments reduction which began with the destruction of intermediate- and shorter-range missiles, and to create a favorable climate for the Vienna talks on disarmament problems in Europe which are scheduled to open in the near future. The speech delivered by M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, at the United Nations, where he announced unilateral cuts in the Soviet Armed Forces, and the reduction of our National People's Army by 10,000 men and of our defense expenditure by 10 percent, announced 23 January by E. Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, have met with the greatest interest and the highest appreciation from peace-loving forces throughout the world.

The fraternal alliance of the peoples and armies of the USSR and the GDR, Army General H. Kessler went on, is and will remain a most important basis of our security and an immutable precondition of the successful struggle to further lower the level of military confrontation and to build our common European home, peaceful coexistence, and good-neighborliness. Friendship with the Soviet Union and comradeship-in-arms with the servicemen of the Soviet Armed Forces have always meant action rather than words for the GDR and the servicemen of the National People's Army. This is borne out by the multifaceted mutual relations between formations and units of the GDR National People's Army and the Group of Soviet Forces in Germany, between the People's Navy and the Baltic Fleet.

Army General B. Snetkov, commander in chief of the Group of Soviet Forces in Germany, emphasized in his speech that USSR-GDR relations represent an example of genuine internationalism, indestructible friendship, and fruitful cooperation. For decades now they have been helping our peoples to resolve important tasks of their development and serving as a factor of stability and peace in Europe. In all parts of the world understanding of the fact that socialism and peace are inseparable is strengthening. This is taking place thanks to the concrete actions of the USSR, the GDR, and other socialist states aimed at strengthening security and confidence in Europe and throughout the world.

The personnel of the Group of Soviet Forces in Germany, Army General B. Snetkov stressed, are aware of their responsibility for the reliable defense of socialism's

gains. In the formations and units of the group of forces constant efforts are under way to enhance the quality of combat and political training, to strengthen military discipline, and to improve the training and material base and the men's living conditions.

Guided by the new defensive doctrine, we are restructuring our Armed Forces in an effort to reshape them in such a way as to ensure that in terms of both quantity and quality they are able to reliably rebuff a possible aggression. This process is under way in the Group of Soviet Forces in Germany alongside preparations for the withdrawal from GDR territory of a number of formations and units. We are performing our task in the defense of peace in close combat alliance with the GDR National People's Army. We highly value this alliance and treasure its indestructibility.

Within the framework of Combat Collaboration Week joint events of military collectives of the Group of Soviet Forces in Germany and the GDR National People's Army—reciprocal visits, ceremonial laying of wreaths and flowers on the graves of Soviet soldiers who died in the struggle against fascism, and festive amateur concerts—are to be held in many cities. Excursions by servicemen of the Group of Soviet Forces in Germany to industrial enterprises and agricultural cooperatives are planned.

FRG SPD Statement Opposing Nuclear Modernization Reported

AU2302200589 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 21 Feb 89 p 5

[Text] Bonn (ADN)—A great majority of the FRG population rejects the plans to deploy new nuclear short-range missiles and new long-range nuclear weapons in the FRG, the SPD Presidium stated in a declaration published in Bonn on Monday [20 February]. The disarmament process which started with the INF Treaty is being risked by an arms race initiated by the West. There is no sound reason for NATO to decide in favor of modernization. The FRG Government has to "clearly reject new nuclear rearmament" at the forthcoming NATO summit.

SPD Federal Manager Anke Fuchs was critical before the press of a petition which was submitted to the Bundestag on 8 June last year rejecting all nuclear rearmament and any military compensation for the INF Treaty and calling for a third and fourth zero option has been obstructed until today.

FRG SPD Chairman's Statement Against New Short-Range Missiles Noted

AU2302173089 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 21 Feb 89 p 5

[Text] Bonn (ADN)—A determined no is the only possible answer to plans to deploy new nuclear short-range missiles in the FRG. This was stated by SPD Chairman

Hans-Jochen Vogel in a radio interview on Monday [20 February]. Not rearmament but the dynamics of disarmament has to be intensified. According to Vogel, 1,072 warheads, of which every fifth has five to six times the explosive force of the Hiroshima bomb, would be deployed with the new missiles. In this context, the word modernization is misleading. As four-fifths of the missiles would be deployed in the FRG, the FRG is especially affected by this decision, he stated.

HUNGARY

Soviet SFG Deputy Commander Holds 'Open Day' in Connection with Withdrawal
LD1802220489 Budapest MTI in English
2026 GMT 18 Feb 89

[Text] Budapest, February 18 (MTI)—As officially announced, preparations for a partial Soviet troop pull-out have started according to schedule, Brigadier General Yosip Bakratovich Oganyan, deputy commander of the Soviet Southern Army Group temporarily stationed in Hungary, told journalists admitted to the Army barracks at Hajmasker for Saturday's [18 February] open day. The brigadier general stressed they wanted to guarantee a peace zone, and want to withdraw their forces to garrisons that were further from the frontiers of Hungary.

The open day was meant to further enhance the spirit of openness and friendship between the two peoples, as well as to give a picture of the Army's activities.

Five garrisons in Hungary held such open days to mark the 71st anniversary of the Red Army and also the Soviet peace initiatives. The Debrecen event was attended by Nikita Darchiyev, Soviet chief consul in Debrecen.

POLAND

Government Lauds CSSR Defense Expenditure Reduction
LD1402164889 Warsaw PAP in English
1523 GMT 14 Feb 89

[Text] Warsaw Feb 14 (CTK correspondent)—Polish state bodies received with satisfaction and acknowledgment the recent decision of the Czechoslovak Government to limit unilaterally the expenditures on defensive purposes, Polish Foreign Ministry spokesman Stefan Staniszwski told CTK here today.

He said that this step ranks among the decisions started by Mikhail Gorbachev and adopted later by other socialist countries including Poland.

The decision of the Czechoslovak Government was adopted in a new, favorable international situation. We think that it is a concrete contribution to the reduction of the level of military confrontation in Europe, the spokesman said. Undoubtedly it will also benefit the negotiations

on the reduction of the armed forces and conventional armament of the NATO and Warsaw Treaty states to be held in Vienna early March, Stefan Staniszwski said.

ROMANIA

Romanian Envoy Addresses CD in Geneva, Stresses Chemical-Nuclear Arms Link
AU1602212289 Bucharest AGERPRES in English
2029 GMT 16 Feb 89

["Romanian Representative's Address to the Disarmament Conference in Geneva"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, 16/02/1989—Taking the floor during the general debates conducted within the Disarmament Conference in Geneva, Romania's representative referred to the unilateral cuts in arms, troops and military spending announced by the USSR and other socialist countries and mentioned that Romania, which has unswervingly stated against the arms race and against the rise in military budgets, underscored, as early as 1985, the need for unilateral measures to reduce armed forces, nuclear ones included, as well as the possibility of applying those measures without affecting the security interests of the respective states. In November 1986, Romania itself effected a 5-10 per cent cut in its arms, troops and military spending, which hopefully would be an example for other countries.

He also stressed that in the current circumstances it was impossible to secure real and equal security for all if action was taken in isolation to eliminate one or the other of the two types of weapons of mass destruction—nuclear and chemical arms.

Romania, which has neither nuclear nor chemical weapons, intends to never produce like weapons considering that firm, phased-out action is needed to eliminate those weapons in the shortest possible time, by putting an end to their production and testing, by scrapping all nuclear and chemical stockpiles, by outlawing them, the speaker said.

In consideration of current realities, the session of the Disarmament Conference should contribute to laying the foundations of an effective process of negotiations on nuclear and chemical disarmament to proceed simultaneously. Those steps should be regarded unitarily as the component parts of a package of actions intended to contribute to world stability, to place interstate relations on new-type bases of equality of rights, respect for independence and sovereignty, non-interference in domestic affairs, the elimination of the use and threat of force.

As for nuclear disarmament, the speaker said, Romania is for intensified talks between the USSR and the USA on a 50-per cent cut in their strategic weapons and for the conclusion of an accord in that area this year. Furthermore, the need was underscored for negotiations, to be attended by all the states, on the total liquidation of nuclear weapons, which should be outlawed. Furthermore, in that area, the following proposals were formulated:

- An urgent passage to the elaboration of a universal treaty on a ban and on the total, phased-out elimination of all nuclear weapons. Like accord should provide for a ban on the production, improvement and testing of nuclear weapons, for the scrapping of the existing stockpiles of nuclear vehicles;
- The creation of a special organism, including all the nuclear powers and the other states, to the end of negotiating the universal treaty aimed at banning and liquidating nuclear arms;
- A passage to palpable negotiations on the elimination of short-range tactical weapons;
- The withdrawal of those weapons, until all nuclear weapons are liquidated, to within national frontiers by the states possessing like weapons;

- The creation of nuclear- and chemical-weapon-free zones, with the nuclear and chemical weapons being regarded in close unity so that as large as possible regions of the world may be spared the threat posed by those weapons of mass destruction;
- The transformation of the Balkans into a zone of peace, cooperation and good neighbourliness, free of nuclear and chemical weapons, of foreign troops and military bases, the establishment of like zones in other regions of the world.

Steps were also suggested for a ban on nuclear tests.

As for a ban on and the scrapping of chemical weapons—considering the interdependence between chemical and nuclear arms—it was suggested that a convention on the liquidation of chemical weapons and the universal treaty to ban and totally eliminate nuclear weapons should be worked out and implemented.

Furthermore, tangible proposals were made concerning the prevention of the arms race in the outer space, the prohibition of radiological weapons and of other arms of mass destruction, a ban on attacks on nuclear installations used for peaceful purposes, as well as proposals for improved activities and a growing efficiency of the Disarmament Conference.

INDIA

Agni IRBM To Be Test-Fired From Orissa Range
46001263 Bombay *THE TIMES OF INDIA* in English
9 Jan 89 p 10

[Text] Bangalore, 8 Jan (UNI)—India's first long-range missile "Agni" with a range matching that of the intermediate range ballistic missile (IRBM) at 2,500 km, will soon be test-fired from the interim test range at Baliapal in Orissa.

"Agni" would be the summit of the country's integrated guided missile program launched in 1983. This surface-to-surface missile would feature a first stage solid-propellant engine and a second stage liquid-fueled motor, official sources said.

The sources said the missile was receiving finishing touches at the defence research and development laboratory (DRDL) in Hyderabad. Dr A.P.J. Abdul Kalam, director of DRDL, who had played a key role in the successful launch of the short-range "Prithvi" missile, was involved in this venture too.

Dr Kalam was the leader of the space team which successfully launched the satellite launch vehicle (SLV-3) in 1980.

The "Agni's" first stage motor would be the same as that used by the SLV-3 series rockets, which had a range of 1,500 km.

The sources said "Agni" would have the twin microprocessor-based missile guidance computer with interrupt driven real time software. Some of the studies on its design, the control guidance system and other systems were carried out by DRDL scientists in collaboration with researchers at the Indian Institute of Science under the joint advanced technology programme.

If successfully test-fired, the "Agni" venture would usher India into an exclusive group of countries which have the capability to design and fabricate such a missile. It would also take the country forward in self-reliance in defense preparedness.

India drew global attention when the "Prithvi" missile was test-fired from the Sriharikota rocket launch (SHAR) station on 25 February last, making it only the fifth country in the world to build and fire a missile of the 250 km range.

"Prithvi" incorporates advanced inertial navigation and guidance system and the onboard mission control computer for accuracy.

The Prime Minister, Mr Rajiv Gandhi, told Parliament on the day of its launch that the missile would be inducted into the armed forces after the necessary number of tests.

PAKISTAN

Editorial Commends Successful Missile Tests
BK2802124989 Karachi *DAWN* in English
13 Feb 89 p 7

[Editorial: "Defence Production"]

[Text] The successful testing of two Pakistan-made guided missiles is a matter of tremendous significance for this country and for the region in which it is located. Coinciding with this momentous development, there are reports about plans being afoot to undertake indigenous production of tanks and jet aircraft. These are indicative of a significant advance in the manufacture of modern defence equipment. An ever-greater measure of self-reliance in defence production is a crucial factor in enhancing the country's capacity to defend its national sovereignty and territorial integrity. Given Pakistan's geopolitical location, the country can ill-afford to ignore the imperatives of national defence.

Preparedness here means not merely the armed forces' adequacy, both quantitatively and qualitatively but also a reasonably self-reliant armaments industry geared to our needs. At least two of Pakistan's Third World neighbours, India and China, have highly developed armaments industries producing sophisticated weapons and equipment. India, for instance, has not only tested its short-range guided missiles, but is pressing forward with the development of IRBMs [intermediate range ballistic missiles] with a range of 2,500 kilometres. One reason why India has reached this stage has been its insistence from the very beginning that any contract for joint ventures with a foreign agency for the assembly of armaments must provide for their eventual local production.

Today India is in a position to manufacture a wide range of defence items, including tanks and jet aircraft, with plans in hand for the manufacture of submarines and aircraft carriers. Where indigenous production is concerned, our achievements have been modest by comparison. The disastrous results of the policy of dependence became evident in the context of the 1965 war when the United States cut off the supply of spare parts and for a long time thereafter maintained a freeze on defence supplies to this country.

It seems that in the aftermath of the 1971 war, the risks inherent in such a policy were realised and attempts were made to develop the basic infrastructure for an indigenous arms industry. The results of these efforts were seen in the expansion of the Pakistan Ordnance Factories, the setting up of a tank rebuild factory at Wah, the establishment of an aeronautical complex at Kamra and an aircraft assembly plant under licence from Sweden, besides several other projects with the assistance of friendly countries, especially China, France and Turkey. The testing of the two types of guided missiles and rocket

launchers and the plans for the production of tanks and jet aircraft seems to indicate a forward stage in the process aimed at progressively achieving self-sufficiency in arms manufacture.

However, it must be understood that a full-scale defence industry is not within easy reach of a Third World country like Pakistan, especially when weapons systems are known to become obsolete in a matter of years. Resource constraints, the absence of a sound industrial infrastructure, a narrow scientific and technological base and negligible spending on R&D [research and development] inhibit any plans for a rapid development of defence production. Yet, given Pakistan's defence imperatives, we have no choice but to develop an arms industry, relying on our own resources but where possible in cooperation with friendly countries.

Given the Muslim world's technological backwardness joint defence ventures are difficult, though not impossible. At least two other Muslim countries—Egypt and Turkey—have a relatively high level of industry and technology, and Iran, too, has shown some ingenuity in defence production during the Gulf war. Given the common perception these countries have of several international problems, it is but natural that these countries should come closer to each other in such a vital field as defence production.

Pakistan could play a major role in setting up joint defence ventures. But our neglect of science and technology has cost us dearly. Even though Pakistan has produced a few scientists of international repute, the output of scientists and engineers in our educational and training institutes is far below our minimum requirements. Besides, a big chunk of the scientific talent leaves the country in search of better professional opportunities elsewhere. This great shortcoming in our educational system must be rectified if we want to ensure a regular supply of trained scientific manpower for our national development efforts, including defence.

Scientist Denies Missiles Can Carry Nuclear Warheads

*BK2402035589 Islamabad Domestic Service in Urdu
0200 GMT 24 Feb 89*

[Text] The renowned scientist, Dr Abdul Qadir Khan, has said that Pakistan is now in a position to manufacture antitank and anti-aircraft missiles at a much lower cost than that in the international market. In an interview with Radio Pakistan, he said the missiles produced by Pakistan cost only about 25,000 dollars each, as compared to those by foreign countries at a cost from 50,000 to 100,000 dollars.

He categorically denied that these missiles can be used as nuclear weapons. The missiles have been manufactured to shoot down only low-flying aircraft, and they are so small that they cannot carry nuclear warheads.

Concerning laser range finders, Dr Abdul Qadir Khan said it was very difficult to acquire them from other countries, as they cost about 10,000 pounds each. But Pakistan has manufactured this system at half the price, and its regular production has now started. He announced that the Pakistani laser finder has a striking range of 15 km, compared to only 8 km of the imported laser finder. We are working to increase the range of our laser finder up to 20 km; it weighs much less than the imported finders.

Answering a question about the enrichment of uranium, he said the project was launched when Canada stopped the supply of fuel for the Karachi Nuclear Power Plant, and the government had decided to achieve self-sufficiency in this field.

Dr Abdul Qadir Khan said he had come to Pakistan at the invitation of the late prime minister, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, and began work on this project. It was a very difficult project, as there had been no industrial base for this in Pakistan. However, my capable, hard-working, and dedicated colleagues accomplished this task in record time, he added.

Odessa Factory Remodels Former SS-20 Transporters into Cranes

18110053a Kiev RADYANSKA UKRAYINA in Ukrainian 18 Jan 89 p 4

[Article by O. Chernetskyy: "Fairwell to Arms!: Report From Plant Where They Are Destroying Nuclear Missile Launcher Vehicle Transporters"]

[Text] A factory assembly line.... Everybody is familiar with this, a generally rhythmically-flowing production cycle. But there are times when the rhythm of the manufacturing process is dictated by extreme circumstances.

The SS-20 missile has become such a first "production-line disturber of the peace" at the Odessa Heavy Crane Plant imeni January Uprising Production Association. Or, more correctly, its carrier vehicle, which was being built at Soviet military enterprises as a launchpad for this powerful nuclear weapon. The launcher vehicle has arrived in Odessa without having made the trip to the missile range. As we know, pursuant to an agreement with the Americans, these weapons are being scrapped.

The Plant imeni January Uprising has received the first such "utensil": an SS-20 launcher vehicle transporter. A Soviet-model crane of Odessa manufacture was to be mounted on this vehicle, the same kind of crane as those which were recently dispatched to Spitak, Kirovakan, and Leninakan.

The powerful 80-ton crane is currently undergoing initial testing at an Odessa proving ground near the Chernomorka [coastal health resort area outside of Odessa].

I asked H. P. Koshelenko, general manager of the Heavy Crane Production Association, as to who will be receiving this unusual product. Hennadiy Petrovych replied: "Whoever is the first to buy it."

The plant indeed has a great many customers, which today includes a worldwide clientele. The Odessans have been engaged in a co-production joint venture with a Polish company. They are currently also engaging in a joint venture with the West German Liebherr [Libkhera] Company.

This company, together with the Heavy Crane Plant imeni January Uprising Production Association, has decided to display its goods at the European BAUMA trade fair which will open at the beginning of April in Munich. An 80-ton crane produced at the Odessa plant, based on the SS-20 cruise missile launcher vehicle, will also be exhibited at this fair.

In the meantime another powerful 80-ton unit is being tested at the plant proving ground. This piece of equipment is truly unique! What makes it unusual is the fact that the chassis for the new crane... has been taken right out from under the SS-20 missile, which is to be eliminated pursuant to the terms of the Soviet-American treaty.

After about 6 months, following testing and shakedown, it will be known who will receive this unique crane.

Unquestionably, however, there is another important factor here: the plant's cranes, mounted on former military transporter vehicles, are a symbol of the fact that the world is safer and more tranquil when its flatbed trailers are not carrying weapons.

APN-Defense Ministry Brochure on European Balance of Forces

18010369 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 8 Feb 89 First Edition p 3

[Review by M. Ponomarev of APN-Defense Ministry brochure "Varshavskiy Dogovor i NATO: sootnosheniye sil v Yevrope" [The Warsaw Pact and NATO: The Balance of Forces in Europe]: "How the Calculations Were Made: A New Brochure on the Balance of Warsaw Pact and NATO Forces in Europe"]

[Text] The Publishing House of the Novosti Press Agency has demonstrated enviable efficiency. Working jointly with and aided by the Military Publishing House of the USSR Ministry of Defense, it published an excellently composed brochure, "Varshavskiy Dogovor i NATO: sootnosheniye sil v Yevrope," literally the day after the text of the statement by the Committee of Ministers of Defense of the Warsaw Pact States, "On the Balance of Numerical Strength of the Armed Forces and Weapons of the Warsaw Pact Organization and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization in Europe and Adjacent Bodies of Water," appeared in the newspapers.

The document issued by the Committee of Ministers of Defense exposed to glasnost for the first time official data on the numerical strength of the armed forces and conventional weapons of the two alliances. We now have the opportunity to see the true, objective picture of the balance of military forces in Europe and adjacent bodies of water. This was made possible by the fact that the compilers of the document took a comprehensive approach and counted all the components of the Warsaw Pact and NATO armed forces: ground troops, air forces, naval forces, air defense forces and civil (territorial) defense forces.

The brochure put out by the APN [Novosti Press Agency] permits one to see this with his own eyes. It contains the complete text of the statement of the Committee of Ministers of Defense of the Warsaw Pact States and appended tables showing the balance of numerical strength of the armed forces and the main types of weapons of the Warsaw Pact and the North Atlantic alliance in Europe and adjacent bodies of water as of 1 July 1988. The compilers of the brochure did not stop there, however. They included a schematic map reproduced here [map not reproduced], of the zone in which the overall numerical strength of the armed forces and conventional weapons of the two alliances were calculated, as well as diagrams depicting this numerical strength and the balance of forces. The diagrams

graphically illustrate both the substantial imbalances and asymmetries on both sides and their superiority with respect to specific components, as well as the basic fact of approximate military parity between the Warsaw Pact and NATO on the continent of Europe and in adjacent waters.

Talks on the reduction of conventional armed forces in Europe are to begin in a month under a decision adopted at the Vienna meeting in the capital of Austria of the seven Warsaw Pact states and 16 nations of the North

Atlantic alliance. The data published by the allied Warsaw Pact nations are not a substitute for the subject of the future talks. However, these data—and the APN brochure makes that absolutely apparent—indisputably attest to the only correct method of evaluating the military forces on the continent and in adjacent bodies of water. These forces have to be considered comprehensively, in their totality. This approach is designed ultimately to focus the attention of the participants on making the talks realistic from the outset and rejecting the pursuit of unilateral advantages.

DENMARK

Conservative Party Does Not Wish To 'Bog Down' CFE over Landing Ships

52002414 Copenhagen INFORMATION in Danish
23 Dec 88 pp 1, 11

[Article by Jorgen Dragsdahl: "Disarmament on Land Is More Important Than Ships in the Baltic Sea"; first paragraph is INFORMATION introduction]

[Text] The Conservative Party's spokesman does not want to bog down the upcoming negotiations with specifically Danish problems.

Denmark should not bog down the negotiating table with Baltic Sea landing ships, Connie Hedegaard, the Conservative Party's spokesman on defense policy, believes, while emphasizing that a process has gotten underway with negotiations between NATO and the Warsaw Pact about land forces.

At the beginning of the new year, representatives of all the countries in the two military alliances will initiate negotiations the aim of which is the removal of forces which can be used in surprise attacks. But, at NATO's initiative, the terms of reference of the negotiations exclude naval forces, even if Denmark has frequently emphasized the threat posed by the Warsaw Pact's landing ships in the Baltic Sea.

Historic Opportunity

Connie Hedegaard believes that these ships are a problem, but she does not wish to criticize the fact that they are not being covered by the negotiations.

"I cannot tell whether our officials saw things this way or whether they didn't want to," she said. "NATO formulates its positions based on the principle of consensus. But I can well understand how specific Danish problems with naval forces would not show up."

"You can pile so much on the table, but for us it is sufficiently relevant that we get to deal with Central Europe, so a process can be gotten underway," she continued. "This is an historic opportunity, so we'll be careful not just to heap more onto the table. Gradually this process can be broadened with confidence-building measures for the Navy and the Air Force as well."

Politically Flat

Pelle Voigt of the Socialist People's Party wants a Danish move vis-a-vis the Soviet Union which would set the stage for the removal of the landing ships. Connie Hedegaard views this as "politically flat."

"I don't share Voigt's amazement at the fact that there are Spetsnaz soldiers (commando troops) in Poland learning Danish. Time after time we have drawn attention to this, and you cannot just call for 'cutting out the crap,' as Pelle Voigt does," she said. "He's setting the stage for what amount to a unilateral initiative vis-a-vis the Soviet Union, but I can't see that that will help. What can we bargain with? The negotiations will take place at the international level with our allies, we cannot accept a regionalization of security."

Vital for Denmark

Jorgen Estrup, the Radical Liberal Party's spokesman on security policy, said he did not know what effort Denmark had made within NATO to get the landing ship situation in the Baltic Sea included in the negotiations.

"It is vital to Danish interests that they be withdrawn, and I assumed they would be covered in the negotiations," he said. He would now like to make further inquiries "in connection with the government" as to how the problem will be addressed.

FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY

SPD's Bahr Criticizes Nuclear Deployments, SNF Plans

'Idiotic Overcapacity' in FRG

AU0802141789 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND
in German 7 Feb 89 p 5

[Text] Bonn (ADN)—Egon Bahr, the SPD's disarmament expert, sharply criticized the NATO states' attitude to the disarmament proposals presented by the USSR, the GDR, and other socialist states. NATO's response to the disarmament initiatives that have been submitted by the socialist countries has so far been "terrible," Bahr said. It is "high time" the West presents an overall plan for negotiations which include land-based nuclear missiles, Bahr noted at a meeting of the Loccum Evangelical Academy. According to Bahr, "an absolutely idiotic overcapacity of nuclear weapons" has been deployed in the FRG. It represents a major threat and must therefore not come last on the agenda for disarmament negotiations. As an initial stage, and until they can be completely scrapped, Bahr proposed to establish ceilings for land-based short-range nuclear missiles.

SNF Plans 'Diabolical Deception'

AU0902135689 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND
in German 8 Feb 89 p 1

[Text] Bonn (ADN)—SPD Presidium member Egon Bahr has called the FRG Government's plans to develop a new missile, which became known on Tuesday [7 February], an "alarm signal" and "a diabolical deception of the public using the word modernization." In the opinion of disarmament experts, the plans for the development of an FRG missile with a range of almost 500

km, which have been confirmed by the FRG Defense Ministry, constitute "new armament in line with the logic of old thinking according to war scenarios." In the press service of the SPD Bundestag Group, he called on the Federal Government to speedily examine these plans. "The Federal Government's plans are out of place, unless it is intended to insinuate that it wants to torpedo serious disarmament." The so-called modernization is apt to prevent disarmament, he stated.

CDU/CSU's Ruehe Elaborates on Nuclear, Conventional Balance in Europe

*AU2302123189 Hamburg DIE WELT in German
21 Feb 89 p 10*

["p.p." report: "NATO Can Disarm Unilaterally if it Restructures Remaining Arsenal"]

[Text] Bonn—Volker Ruehe, CDU/CSU deputy floor leader, called on the alliance to "adapt its strategy of preventing war to the conditions of the nineties." In an interview with DIE WELT he elaborated on his ideas for NATO's overall concept.

The supreme goal is "to secure peace and stability with a level of armed forces that is as low as possible." This "will require, now as before, a well-balanced relation between nuclear and conventional armed forces." However, the role and the arsenals of nuclear weapons in Europe have to be "limited to the qualitatively and quantitatively indispensable minimum level." The shorter-range nuclear systems have "to be widely abolished," because the composition and range of nuclear weapons in and for Europe has to be based on a "politically more credible and convincing structure" than it has so far.

The minimum level of NATO's nuclear means of deterrence in Europe is determined both by the "future structure of the necessary potentials, the balance of conventional forces in Europe, and the Warsaw Pact's potential of nuclear weapons." Therefore, there is no doubt for Ruehe that "NATO can drastically reduce its nuclear arms arsenals unilaterally and completely independent of arms control, if, at the same time, it restructures its remaining arsenals."

For the credibility of deterrence and "flexible response," the main aim should be shifted to wider-range systems, "and a mixture of ground and air-based systems should be maintained: artillery and ground-based ballistic missiles, as well as air-based systems."

"The larger the range of the weapons systems, the more politically credible, in the sense of deterrence, is the structure of nuclear systems, and the fewer such systems are needed." The ground and air-based nuclear systems, which will remain after the restructuring, are to be maintained at the necessary level. Within the framework of NATO's overall concept, the future structure has to involve "drastically fewer artillery systems" as well as

ground and air-based missile systems with greater ranges than they have so far, and, "wherever available for Europe," sea-based systems. Through such restructuring, "the number of the some 4,000 nuclear systems which remain after the INF disarmament can markedly be reduced unilaterally by up to 2,000." The reduction should concentrate on artillery warheads, reduced "if possible by 80 percent."

Regarding future negotiations, Ruehe recommends: "First of all, the alliance has to make clear what its future structure has to be before it can define its position on arms control." Concerning the timetable, he suggests: "After the implementation of the unilateral reductions of conventional weapons systems, as announced by the Warsaw Pact states, and in the context of the first results for establishing a conventional equal balance, equal ceilings at a low level should be agreed upon for short-range missiles."

Government Released Chemical Exports to Libya in January

*LD2302162189 Hamburg DPA in German
1041 GMT 23 Feb 89*

[Text] Bremerhaven/Bonn (DPA)—The Federal Economics Ministry has now lifted controls on the export of 17 containers, meant for shipment to Libya, with 255 tonnes of the chemical hexamethylenetetramin, which the customs authorities had stopped in Bremerhaven on 20 January. A spokesman from the ministry stated this morning in Bonn that the Federal Office for the Economy in Eschborn had already been instructed yesterday evening to issue the Frankfurt suppliers Degussa A.G. the negative certification of the harmlessness of the export, for which it had applied.

The spokesman said the chemical could not be used for the manufacture of poisonous substances. This had been unanimously confirmed by reports from chemists from the Federal Office for the Economy, the Berlin Federal Office for the checking of materials and the Association of German Chemists in Frankfurt. Moreover the firm had, according to the information, "proven believably" that the disputed chemical had already been supplied since 1983 to the Libyan firm Napetko, a fertilizer factory. The ministry spokesman stated that Degussa's statement that the chemical was a means to improve the trickling capacity of urea contained in fertilizers had proved to be correct.

The chemical had been in dispute because according to experts it could be used as a principal product for the manufacture of fertilizers and disinfectants as well as also for the manufacture of explosives. A Degussa spokesman had stated in return that the chemical hexamethylenetetramin was not suitable in its fine crystal form for the manufacture of explosives.

The export of hexamethylentetramin does not generally need authorization. In questionable cases—such as those caused by the Libyan affair—an export can, however, be made to depend on a so-called negative certification.

CDU/CSU's Dregger on Prospects for May NATO Summit

AU2702151589 Hamburg WELT AM SONNTAG
in German 26 Feb 89 p 2

[Interview with CDU/CSU Bundestag Group Chairman Alfred Dregger by Heinz Vielain: "Nuclear Artillery Is To Disappear Completely"; date and place not given]

[Text]

[Vielain] Will there be a joint concept of the alliance partners at the NATO summit at the end of May?

[Dregger] I became more optimistic in Brussels, in particular because of my talk with General Galvin, the commander in chief of the Allied Forces in Europe. Since the Reykjavik summit, we Germans have been working at persuasion. We have to make it clear to the allies that our military and geographical situation is something special: We are a divided country at the dividing line and the military border between East and West. Together with the allies we intend to prevent war by means of nuclear deterrence. If this is the goal, deterrence must be directed against the potential attacker and not against the potential victim.

[Vielain] How do the British see the problems after their Prime Minister Thatcher and Chancellor Kohl were not able to agree on a modernization of the short-range nuclear missiles at the consultations in Frankfurt this week?

[Dregger] The British prime minister is a difficult partner in many respects. When the double zero-option in the intermediate-range area was agreed on, London spoke of a "fire wall." This should mean that one would not negotiate on missile systems with a range of less than 500 km. Then there was the British idea that what has been taken away in intermediate-range missiles could be compensated for by increasing the systems below 500 km. Both positions, which are extremely contradictory to German interests, have meanwhile been given up by the British side.

[Vielain] And how will things continue on the modernization of short-range nuclear missiles?

[Dregger] Above all, nothing will work without the Germans, at least as for weapons systems on German soil. However, what we must strive for is a consensus within the alliance. It is necessary to bring the 16 sovereign NATO states to a joint position.

[Vielain] What should this joint position look like?

[Dregger] We not only need an overall concept but we also need a disarmament initiative toward Moscow on the basis of it. And finally—not now but in 1992—we will need a decision on the deployment of modernized Lance missiles, which takes into account the disarmament successes achieved until then, in particular those in the conventional area. As for the contents of the overall concept, I think that we are close to an agreement with the allies.

[Vielain] And what about the disarmament initiative?

[Dregger] Here the difficulties are greater. At least the British and the Americans would prefer to reduce the nuclear weapons of the West unilaterally and to hope that the Soviet Union will follow this example without any specific agreement. I am skeptical in this respect. Moscow has 1,365 missile systems with a range below 500 km, which have all been modernized; the West has only 88. The FRG chancellor's repeated calls on Gorbachev to eliminate 1,000 systems, which would still leave him with a superiority of 365 to 88, have not been heeded. We Germans attach great importance to a disarmament agreement, which brings the stocks of both sides below the current number of NATO systems, while adhering to common upper limits.

Our second wish: Nuclear artillery is to disappear completely if possible. In this respect I have long advocated the standpoint that is now gaining ground in the alliance: Nuclear tube artillery can hardly contribute to preventing war by means of deterrence because of its low range and because it thus cannot reach the territory of the potential attacker. Instead we need air-based standoff weapons, which, due to their greater range, maintain the alliance of deterrence between Europe and the United States, to which, above all, we owe the preservation of peace over the past 40 years. The scenario of a nuclear war limited to Europe, as was contained in the Ikke report of renowned U.S. military experts, must not exist.

[Vielain] SPD Chairman Hans-Jochen Vogel accuses you of "promoting the arms race"....

[Dregger] This corresponds neither with the facts nor with common sense. The 1,365 short-range missile systems in the East have all been modernized over the past years. If the opposition leader calls considerations on modernizing Western systems—and that below the current low NATO level of 88—the beginning of an arms race in the West, this is irresponsible.

Controversy Over Security Policy, SNF Modernization Viewed

AU0103161989 Duesseldorf HANDELSBLATT
in German 1 Mar 89 p 2

[Hans Joerg Sottorf article: "Bonn in Need of Explanations"]

[Text] The current security policy debate is a difficult one. It is above all affected by the apparent contradiction—so difficult to resolve—between political hope and

military requirements. Premature confidence in Gorbachev must not be given at the expense of the Western defensive capability, as Defense Minister Rupert Scholz put it at a forum in Hamburg. Other politicians, including Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher, think that a bit more confidence would be in order.

The Defense Minister is not politically blind. He, too, sees some elements in East-West relations, that give cause for hope. Yet he does not consider such hopes the proper basis on which to build a specific policy, let alone security policy. On the contrary. Scholz says that security policy requires creating conditions that allow us to pursue our own goals in changed or "uncertain circumstances." Then it would be possible to use every such element for an improvement in political relations more freely and in a more unbiased way.

Scholz believes that the situation will remain uncertain. He does not consider Gorbachev a guarantee, and in his view the ratio of military power in Europe has not been substantially changed. The East continues to be superior. Therefore, Scholz believes that despite gratifying developments in East-West relations, NATO must not relax its defense efforts.

In the political controversy over the question as to whether or not nuclear short-range weapons deployed in the Federal Republic should be modernized, the Bonn Defense Minister misses a clear definition of the issue and, what is worse, fails to recognize that nuclear deterrence is indispensable.

During the forum in Hamburg, which was organized by WELT AM SONNTAG, Scholz and Inspector General Wellershoff produced the same arguments: Following the disarmament accords on intermediate-range nuclear missiles, the shorter-range nuclear weapons now ensure the effectiveness of nuclear deterrence which continues to be necessary in and for Europe.

Scholz and Wellershoff see the approach of the opponents of modernization of these short-range weapons as a decisive mistake. These systems are not intended to counter equal weapons of the East, nor are they intended to compensate for the Warsaw Pact's conventional superiority in East Europe, but they are intended as an incalculable risk for any attacker, they say. In their view, the number of nuclear weapons is not decisive in this respect, but the fact that they exist at all is. To that extent, Scholz and Wellershoff attach political rather than military-strategic importance to short-range nuclear weapons. The Minister and the Inspector General believe that modernization and reduction are two sides of one and the same concept of ensuring peace. Wellershoff's thesis is that disarmament alone is not a synonym for security.

The message from Hamburg is inconvenient, but it provokes people to think. Bonn's NATO alliance partners are waiting for a binding answer. Winfried Dunkel,

Scholz' chief press spokesman, frankly admitted: "We are increasingly under pressure from information and increasingly in need of explanations."

Reaction to Karpov Bonn Statement on Short-Range Missiles

SPD, CDU Figures Respond

*LD0103161189 Hamburg DPA in German
1518 GMT 1 Mar 89*

[Excerpt] Bonn, (DPA)—The Soviet Union's willingness in principle to limit or completely disarm in the sphere of short-range missiles was welcomed today in Bonn by Alfred Dregger, leader of the CDU/CSU Bundestag group. Egon Bahr, member of the SPD Presidium, stated that he is not at all surprised by the far-reaching proposals made by Viktor Karpov, Soviet deputy foreign minister and disarmament representative. According to information he has received from Karpov, there is "no doubt that the Soviet Union is also prepared to reduce the major superiority it has in short-range missiles."

After consultations in Bonn, Karpov stressed to journalists yesterday the willingness in principle to disarm, in accordance with Western ideas, the short-range missiles of the two sides down to common, lower limits, or, jointly with NATO, to abolish them completely.

Dregger demanded the unilateral scrapping of 1,100 missile systems in the first instance as a prior concession by the Soviet Union. With a stockpile of 1,608 missiles, according to Eastern estimates, that would mean a reduction to 608 missiles in the first instance. They would then have to be brought down below this limit, to the Western stock level of 88 systems at the moment, so that the "lower limit" would be achieved. However, a zero option in the category has so far met with a decisive rejection from the West.

After the talks with Karpov, government circles in Bonn confirmed the Soviet disarmament representative's ideas today. As yet, these circles do not regard Karpov's views as the official Soviet negotiating position but as unofficial ideas to test the water. [passage omitted]

Commentary: 'Reason To Be Satisfied'

*AU0203121589 Munich SUEDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG
in German 2 Mar 89 p 2*

["ub" report: "Bonn Satisfied With Karpov's Proposals"]

[Text] Bonn—The FRG Government hopes for substantial progress during the talks between the NATO and Warsaw Pact states on conventional stability in Europe, scheduled to begin in Vienna next week. According to reports from diplomatic circles in Bonn, which emerged on Wednesday [1 March] following the 2-day visit by the Soviet disarmament representative Viktor Karpov, the

Soviets are now basically thinking along the same lines as the West. The primary goal of the Vienna talks is to reduce the capability of surprise attacks and of large-scale offensives.

Karpov had told the press in Bonn that Moscow is willing to completely eliminate short-range nuclear missiles in Europe and worldwide, if the West cooperates. However, if NATO does not want to agree on a third zero option, negotiations on common lower ceilings for these systems could be held simultaneously with the Vienna talks. According to information from diplomatic circles, during their consultations, Karpov and his Bonn counterpart Holik did not succeed in removing all doubts as to whether the Soviet proposal on short-range missiles is part of a larger package or not.

However, if Moscow accepts negotiations on equal upper limits for short-range missiles of ranges up to 500 km, Bonn has every reason to be satisfied. This is exactly what was demanded at the foreign ministers' meeting in Reykjavik 2 years ago. This issue was also included in the communique at that time.

NATO and the Warsaw Pact are in agreement that talks should first be held on the drastic reduction of tanks, artillery systems, and infantry vehicles. They continue to be divided over how to treat aircraft. The Soviets want to include bombers and tactical aircraft and to exclude fighter aircraft, which are tactical in their view and of which they possess more than the West. NATO will not present a proposal on aircraft during the first phase of the Vienna talks.

Foreign Minister Genscher Urges CW Ban 'This Year'

LD0203121789 Hamburg DPA in German 1020 GMT 2 Mar 89

[Text] Geneva/Bonn (DPA). In an urgent appeal, Federal Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher, today called upon the Geneva UN Disarmament Committee to approve the world-wide ban on chemical weapons this year, and to prescribe compulsory checks where there are grounds for suspicion. "There can be no justification whatsoever for the rejection of compulsory checks where there are grounds for suspicion—especially not the business interests of individual firms," said Genscher, appearing together with his Italian counterpart Giulio Andreotti like last year.

At the same time, Genscher acknowledged that it would be "one of the most difficult tasks" to achieve reliable supervision of the chemical industry. Nevertheless, "the safety of the human race must take priority over the economic interests of companies concerned for their business interests." A solution to the problems of verification must be achieved this year, he added, since time is pressing. Genscher repeated his deep concern at the increasing danger of chemical weapons proliferation. A halt to proliferation, should not be the only means of

tackling the problem of chemical weapons. Genscher warned against the continuing absence of legal provisions, which lead to covetousness on the part of those without chemical weapons. "Foreign and, unfortunately, German firms, too," have delivered parts and raw materials or made technology available. Genscher emphasized the serious responsibility of all countries concerning the dissemination of knowledge of the manufacture of chemical weapons, and informed delegates of the new, tighter export control and penalty measures in the FRG and the EC.

Binding international law must prevent the development, manufacture, storage, and transfer of chemical weapons, said Genscher. He countered U.S. industry reservations to date on checks where there are grounds for suspicion with a 5-year-old quote from the then U.S. Vice President George Bush, in which verification is described as deterrence through the fear of discovery.

FINLAND

Commentaries Laud Outcome Of Vienna CSCE Follow-Up Meeting

Concluding Document Signals 'Breakthrough'

52002407 Helsinki HELSINGIN SANOMAT in Finnish 22 Jan 89 p 2

[Editorial: "CSCE Demonstrated Its Strength"]

[Text] The Vienna CSCE document was assessed ahead of time as a notable breakthrough with regard to both arms negotiations and the honoring of human rights. The past week, with its speeches, showed that "breakthrough" is still the right word. Of all the 35 participating governments, only Romania refused outright to approve the whole concluding document, although several other countries let it be known that they did not intend to implement the decisions that were approved. These are Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, and East Germany.

The CSCE process, which is based on unanimity, cannot long endure the remaining differences of opinion. Nevertheless, a dictatorship sinking into darkness, as Romania is, must not be allowed to stop the common movement of the whole continent. It is clear that the Bucharest dictator would be happy to see the whole CSCE machinery rusting in place.

Above all, two speeches, by Poland and the Soviet Union, support the recognition of a revolutionary breakthrough. Both countries announced that they were amending their legislation to establish constitutional governments that would be based on universal human rights. The Foreign Minister of the Soviet Union, Eduard Shevardnadze, expanded the CSCE code in human rights matters when he talked about the obligations of multiethnic countries to approve the cultural tradition,

language, religion, and other customs of all nationalities. He projected the obligations concerning ethnic groups to the protection of the rights of individuals.

The effects of the Vienna final document will be very substantial in the future, since the document is published and will be kept continually available in the public libraries in all participating countries. Persons who feel that they have been treated badly have the possibility to cite this document—perhaps with the exception of Romanians. The central basic rights of individuals throughout Europe and North America have never before been defined so uniformly, even though there is a long way from theory to practice.

Implementing human rights, however, remains the responsibility of each country, but all the participating governments can criticize the actions and laws of others, both at succeeding CSCE meetings and bilaterally, if they wish. Monitoring and nagging have an effect, as the history of CSCE shows.

The new negotiations on confidence-building measures among all 35 participants in the security and military sector and the negotiations of the 23 countries that belong to military alliances on conventional armed forces in Europe will begin concurrently in 6 weeks. The rapid schedule demonstrates the participants' needs. Shevardnadze also accelerated their pace in his speech and warned against drifting into disputes about calculation methods and inventory lists.

The confidence negotiations are a continuation of the long CSCE meeting held in Stockholm, and in them there is an attempt to achieve more precise rules for the use of military forces. The arms negotiations will open new paths, and their purpose is in fact to reduce to a clearly perceptible extent the number of men and weapons in the defense forces, first of the member countries of military alliances and later of all 35 participating countries.

Shevardnadze's directives to the arms negotiations confirm the Soviet Union's previous announcement of a unilateral reduction in its armed forces. The precise numbers will be announced by the Warsaw Pact at the end of January, and they will tell for the first time about the content of the reduction. At that time it will also become clear how many tactical nuclear weapons will be withdrawn from Eastern Europe, in which, at present, part of them are standard weapons on the division level and part are special batteries.

The vagueness of the data made public by the Soviet Union to date have not provided a basis for drawing conclusions. The United States for its part has repeated that it removed thousands of nuclear weapons from Europe already years ago. The background for the dispute is the question of the modernization of NATO's

tactical nuclear weapons to the level of the Soviet missiles with regard to range. The arms negotiations can progress relatively swiftly, however, if the parties give each other precise data, which serious negotiations always require.

CSCE 'Success' Seen Benefitting Finland

52002407 Helsinki HELSINGIN SANOMAT in Finnish
22 Jan 89 p 23

[Article by Olli Kivinen: "Vienna's Success Was a Great Victory for Finland, Too"]

[Text] The successful conclusion of the Vienna review meeting of the CSCE last week manifests the changes in the world on several levels.

Documents about promoting a new and more peaceful Europe were approved previously, too, but this time we are close to tangible steps in the right direction.

Two matters stand out from the rest. Actual negotiations were initiated to reduce the military forces stationed in Europe, which have swollen to a ridiculous extent. In the Stockholm CSCE meeting, an arrangement concerning on-site verification was established that will make it possible to remove intermediate-range missiles. The shift of conventional weapons to CSCE testifies in the same way to the actual desire by East and West for a reduction, since CSCE offers the opportunity for the political decisions that are required to accelerate progress.

The second important dimension is the improvement of human rights. The difference from formerly is clear: Changes have already begun in the Soviet Union, for example. The Vienna concluding document opens the way for broad changes that will affect the situation of ordinary people.

The most visible level of the political warming of the world that affects the CSCE is the change in the superpowers. The Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev has shown that he is really trying to make Soviet society freer and more tolerant. The country's political innovations are becoming more important all the time, since repairing the economy is a painfully slow task.

At the other extreme, farewells are being said to President Ronald Reagan, whose enormous popularity has burst into its final bloom along with a conciliatory policy. A few years ago it would have been impossible to think that the President of the United States would allocate a significant part of his farewell address to praise for the leader of the Soviet Union.

An equally surprising result of the thaw is the open division of the socialist countries into progressive and reactionary groups. Above all, it is important that the reforming Soviet Union belongs to the first group.

The Vienna success guarantees that the pressure against countries that are frozen in the old times will grow from day to day. The Romanian kind of crude family dictatorship, the Czechoslovak police violence against demonstrators, or East Germany's Berlin wall do not belong to the Europe of the 1990's. They proclaim backwardness, ossification, and Stalinism at the same time that the continent's main current is building a completely new model of cooperation in place of the Cold War.

CSCE's success benefits hardly any country as fundamentally as it does Finland. Our country has labored hard for the success of the process in its various stages, and our international position has improved step by step.

This is the case now, too, since Finland and the other neutral and nonaligned countries cleared the road for compromise with ingenious policy. In addition, the next full-scale review meeting will take place in Helsinki.

The final result in Vienna confirms what hundreds of millions of people know—that Europe is, all in all, a safer place than it was before. In addition, the relaxation this time rests on a more realistic foundation than the hopefulness after the 1975 Helsinki conference. At that time a good many countries had not really grown into the compromise that they talked about so beautifully.

Leading Daily Lauds Paris Chemical Warfare Talks

52002411 Helsinki HELSINGIN SANOMAT in Finnish
12 Jun 89 p 2

[Editorial: "The Danger of Gas Weapons Was Reduced"]

[Text] The 5-day meeting on chemical weapons that was held in Paris revealed new tensions between the industrialized countries and the developing countries as well as within the industrialized countries' own ranks. Fortunately, the meeting was finally able to approve unanimously a statement that forbids the use of poison gases. Nevertheless, there remains ahead the difficult task of persuading the large developing countries—from India to Brazil—which have deep doubts about a complete prohibition, to accede to the agreement.

All of the 149 participating countries stated that they would endeavor to prohibit the weapons themselves, but at present what is involved is only an intention that was sent to Geneva as an instruction for the negotiators from 40 countries, for whom the sessions seem endless. The production and storage of the weapons continues to be permitted. Deliveries of equipment are also largely permitted. This shows that here, too, large sums of money are involved, as in other aspects of the armament business.

During the negotiations concerning a compromise, which went on all night under the chairmanship of the Finnish delegation, the new conflict between the United States and Libya, and the rapid increase in international

tensions, were in the balance. If an agreement had not been reached, the possibility of an American strike against the Libyan poison gas plant would have grown substantially. While the meeting was going on, the international community began to be convinced that the Libyan plant was designed to produce chemical weapons, as the West German statement shows.

Finland over several decades has built a positive role for itself with regard to these weapons. In Paris, Foreign Minister Kalevi Sorsa was able to offer training assistance to developing countries that want to use equipment developed in Finland for detecting the use of chemical weapons. This is long-term disarmament and monitoring, which should facilitate the complete prohibition of chemical weapons if and when the international community is ready for this.

The goal of the Paris meeting was to strengthen the 1925 agreement on the prohibition of the use of chemical weapons and to speed up the negotiations among 40 countries on the complete prohibition of chemical weapons, which have been going on in Geneva for years now. The disputes between the rich north and the poor south became very fierce. The countries of the south refused for a long time to approve any statement that did not link chemical weapons to other means of mass destruction or to nuclear weapons. From the standpoint of the poor countries, the rich industrialized countries that possess nuclear weapons were attempting to strengthen their own monopoly on weapons of mass destruction, which could be used against the poor countries.

The Paris meeting was originally convened because Iraq had successfully used poison gases against Iran and gotten away with the use of inhuman gases without international punishment and sanctions. Soon after Iraq's successful gas war, the developing countries began to send delegations to Baghdad to become acquainted with the "Iraqi miracle." The leaders of many poor countries are believed to be striving to get their hands on still more powerful gas armaments.

In the production of gas and other chemical weapons, the industrialized countries showed themselves to be hypocrites. Only after recent pressure from the United States did West Germany begin to restrict the export of equipment that is suitable for producing chemical weapons.

The announcement by the Soviet Union that it was going to destroy its own poison gases was also a positive development. It also admitted significantly that it had made a mistake when it was not ready in 1969 to negotiate on a prohibition of chemical weapons, despite the fact that the United States ceased producing these weapons at that time.

FRANCE

Caution Urged on Soviet Tactical Nuclear Arms Withdrawal Announcement

52002409 Paris LE FIGARO in French 20 Jan 89 p 1

[Article by Charles Lambroschini: "A Skillful Maneuver"]

[Text] Caution! The announcement by Eduard Shevardnadze of the imminent withdrawal of some of the tactical nuclear weapons deployed by the USSR in the European theater is, theoretically, a positive signal. But this undertaking, which involves missiles with a range of less than 500 kilometers, also contains worrisome elements.

This confirms the fact that the Soviet goal has not changed. It is to denuclearize Europe, always with the same dream. It is a question of ousting the Americans from the European continent one day by eliminating the protection provided by the U.S. atomic umbrella.

There is no lack of evidence. By addressing himself first to Hans Dietrich Genscher, the head of the diplomatic service in Bonn, Shevardnadze deliberately targeted the weak link in NATO. He wants to encourage the opponents of modernization of the arsenal which, since the INF Treaty on the elimination of medium-range missiles, has been the last nuclear capacity the Atlantic Alliance retains in Europe.

Public opinion in the FRG is particularly sensitive. In fact, because of their limited effective range, these weapons, based in the East or in the West, "could only kill Germans."

The minister of defense, Christian Democrat Rupert Scholtz, regards the replacement of the Lance missiles, which are now more than 20 years old and will be out of date in 1995, as "inevitable." On the contrary, Liberal Party member Genscher deems this project "superfluous."

Shevardnadze's decision to speak in Vienna was linked with this same maneuver. It is there, the site of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE), which has now ended, that the new negotiations on conventional disarmament will begin on 9 March.

The Soviets are seeking to provoke confusion between the two types of weapons. The leaders of the Atlantic Alliance, for their part, are insisting on maintaining the distinction. Discussion of a reduction or elimination of tactical nuclear missiles while at the same time discussing a reduction in conventional weapons would pose the threat of a violation of the doctrine of the "graduated response," a strategy designed to compensate for the tremendous advantage the Warsaw Pact enjoys in men and materiel by means of the atomic threat.

In short, it is no coincidence that Shevardnadze's proposal comes just a few days after the submission of the report on tactical weapons requirements to NATO by General Galvin, the American boss of the Allied forces in Europe. This document, classified secret, to be safe, is currently being studied by the various general staffs.

In any case, Shevardnadze is juggling the generals without running too much of a risk. Whatever the number—still undefined—of the missiles the USSR is prepared to withdraw, it will still have enough. In tactical weapons, it has six or seven times the NATO stock.

The more things change....

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